2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

584 A

[431] slight interchange of gifts usually took place, rather as a courteous gesture than an economic procedure. The only other formality was [585] for the youth to sleep at the house of the girl for the first four nights while the marriage was consummated. After that they went to live with his family.

But before the marriage took place, the parents allowed about a month to elapse while they trained their children for the new status. The training took the same form of nightly admonition which had been given during childhood. Both young people were instructed to be industrious and to show consideration to each other. The girl, whose home would now be with her husband's family, was told that she must take over the work for her mother-in-law. A sample of such admonition by a girl's father follows:

"We want you to behave yourself as we have always taught you to do. Stay there in the right way. Don't wait for your mother-in-law to tell you what to do. Get up early, find wheat, grind flour. If you can't make tortillas, have flour ready for her to make them. You stay right there and make your home there. It has been here, but now you belong there. Stay home, don't run around. Do your work, carry the wood, cook something. Any work you see, you do it.

Don't go off to peoples' houses and walk around and gossip. Gossip may spoil a good home. That husband of yours, listen to him. Don't talk when he's talking, for he is like a chief to you. Don't beg him to take you with him here and there, but if he wants you to go, go, whether you want to or not. Don't one day get mad at your new family and think you can run home: a day will come when your husband will want to visit us and will bring you. Now that's your home and if you are lucky, you will grow old and die there. That is the way it is." (26)

864 Both young people were also given sex instruction. Up to this time, girls and boys had been kept rigidly separate. Girls were rarely out of sight of their mothers, in the house or on food gathering expeditions. They were expected never to speak to a man unless he were a relative, when they should offer him food and then leave him. If a strange man approached the house, they should run out and hide.

This inhibition had now to be broken down in favor of a particular man. The girl's mother said to her:

"You will now have a husband as all women do. If you did not, you would be unnatural. You must not be afraid of him. Try to do as he wishes without restraint. That is what women are for. Do not object or run away. We are bringing this man to you because it is best." (7)

The boy's father also instructed him:

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

"Your wife has not known men. Do not frighten her. If she runs away from you, do not follow her. Wait for her mother to deal with her. Be patient." 864

When the parents felt the instruction was sufficient, they would confer again. The girl's parents might say: "Our daughter is ready now. We have taught her all we can. Watch her behavior and if she does not do right, instruct her." The boy's parents replied: "You do the same for us. Our boy should know his duty but if he does not, you should complain."

The boy was then sent to spend his first four nights with his bride. He did not come in the daytime, "because he would be ashamed". He entered the hut after dark and left before morning. The pattern evidently demanded that a well-brought up girl should show fright at such a time for the admonitions and accounts of marriage always mention a terrified bride. One informant said she ran around the house until her mother caught her. Another hid in the large granary basket and had to de dragged out (27). This was done by her family, not by the bridegroom. 585

On the fifth day, the bridegroom having left before dawn, the bride's mother escorted her to her new home. The bride took nothing with her because it would not be good manners to do so until she was established, but her mother brought the groom's mother a small gift. The groom's family, if they were well-to-do people, gave the bride a buckskin dress and might also make a gift to her mother. It was not obligatory, merely out of good will, "when we had something". An informant thus described the formalities: [431]

"He (the bridegroom) left our house in the morning and my mother and I went in the afternoon. My mother had her carrying basket on her back with a jar of cactus syrup as a present.... We stood out behind their house and waited to be invited in.... My mother-in-law came out, took the syrup from my mother's basket and put it away. Then she came out with some beans and corn and filled the carrying basket. She said to me, 'I have put the mat for you.' So I went into the house and my mother went home. My mother-in-law came to the mat she had placed and laid on it a waist and skirt and some beads." (26)

The young people lived in the house with the groom's parents until they had one or more children. They were still practically under tutelage; the boy working and hunting with his brothers under his father's direction, the girl doing the heavy housework for her mother-in-law, often with several sisters-in-law to help her. 591

As a privilege of the married state, the girl might now be seen at ceremonies and dances, particularly the puberty dance which 885

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

885 sometimes turned into a lascivious occasion. She and her husband,
[593] as a sign of intimacy, ate out of the same dish and deloused one another's hair.

●585 The system of having the groom spend four nights at the bride's
587 house was only for first marriages and if either party had been married before, it was omitted. When the groom was already the husband of the bride's older sister, there were no formalities. The bride's parents simply announced that their daughter was old enough, received his acquiescence and brought her to him. But parents often decided to offer a daughter to a man who had a wife not her sister or who was widowed or divorced. In that case they delayed to consult their relatives and instruct the girl but then took her to him without the preliminary four nights. If the man were still very young, the negotiations might be made with his family, otherwise with the man himself. Adult women also sometimes made their own arrangements but as a rule a widow or a divorced woman who returned to her family was disposed of by them like a young girl.

"We gave my son a wife when he was seventeen. Some people came to us and said,, 'We have a daughter. She was married to a man but that man went away to the White school and when he came back, he did not take her. She is older than your son but she is industrious. She may be some help to him.' We said, 'It is true that she is older but we have seen her work. She may be a help.' So we told our son and he said nothing." (26)

A divorced woman thus recounted her experience after she had come back to her mother's house.

"A few days' later my uncle found out. He said, 'We cannot have this woman here with no one to care for her. We must find a husband.' So he went to an old man and proposed for me. I didn't
[562] say anything. No woman has a right to speak against the men of her family." (26)

MARITAL RELATIONS

595 All a man's wives lived in the same house. If they were sisters, it was said they always got along together; otherwise there might be quarrelling and he might build a separate house for one of them. The local tales abound in situations where a man had to divide his attention between two wives.

837 The pattern of female seclusion and modesty was entirely altered
786 after marriage. Women might now go to the drinking ceremonies and to the girl's puberty dance which was the outstanding occasion for sex liberties. For couples to disappear into the darkness at these times was an accepted part of the performance. Women joked

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

your home there. It has been here, but now you belong there. Stay home, 159x
don't run around. Do your work, carry the wood, cook something, whatever 584
there is. Any work you see, you do it. 869

"Don't go off to people's houses and walk around and gossip. Gossip may spoil a good home. That husband of yours, listen to him. Don't talk when he's talking, for he is like a chief to you. Don't beg him to take you with him here and there, but if he wants you to go, go whether you feel like it or not. Don't one day get mad at your mother-in-law or father-in-law. Don't think you can get mad and run home. A day will come when your husband will want to visit us and will bring you. Now that's your home and if good luck is with you, you will grow old and die there. This is the way it is. Now I'm going over to tell the boy's father and mother."

So my father went to those peoples' house, down Where the Water 159x
Whirls Around. 584

"Your son is industrious and I have an industrious daughter. Shall we marry them?"

No one can say anything but yes to such a question. If they really thought the girl was lazy and bad, they would try to be away from home. But they were very distant relatives and, of course, someone had told them what was being talked about. They said: "Very well."

My father told them: "I'm going to see that my daughter behaves herself. You watch her, too, and make sure that she follows my training." They said: "That is what we feel about our son. We have talked to him long enough; he should know his duty. See that he follows it and so will we."

So they sent the boy to our house so that in my first nights with a man 159x
I could have my mother near. Before he came, my mother said: "If he 585
wants anything, don't be afraid of him. That's why we are having you marry."

But I was very much afraid. I did not go and hide in the granary basket, the way one of my friends did. That was Rustling Leaves, but she was being married to an old medicine man who had her three sisters as wives already. My husband was a boy, not much older than I and he had no other wives. Only, when I thought of him, fear ran through me like a snake. He used to come to our house after dark, because it would not be modest for him to sit and eat with our family by daylight. And when morning stood up he went away. That's how I was married.

When he had been at our house four nights, it was time for me to go home and live with him. He left our house at dawn from modesty, and my mother and I went in the afternoon. My mother had her carrying basket on her back with a jar of cactus syrup as a present. But I took nothing. I

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936

NU28 Papago NU28

x/159 left my basketry tools, my dice, and my red face paint, all at my father's
585 house. A bride does not go and get those things until she feels at home in the new place.

We came to Where the Water Whirls Around and stood out behind their house. My mother put down her carrying basket and we waited to be invited in. That is how we do when we go to someone else's house. The
[57] door is always open, or if they are under the arbor in summer, there is no door. But we do not walk in. We wait for someone to see us and to say: "There is an arrival."

My mother-in-law came out, took the syrup from my mother's basket, carried it into the house, and put it away. Then she came out with some beans and corn, and filled the carrying basket. She said to me: "I have put the mat for you." So I went into the house and my mother went home, crying in the evening, with that basket of corn and beans.

x/159 Their house was a grass house, like ours. At one end of it slept the old people, then two boys who were almost grown up, then two little children, then my husband and I. My mother-in-law came to the mat she had placed there for us and laid on it a waist and a skirt and some beads. I had not had many real waists before that. Pretty soon my husband came in.

He was a strong young man and he was clever. He was going to be a medicine man, only his family did not know it. He was nice to me but I was afraid of him. We had not really talked yet. I sat there and laughed a little but I did not talk, and the next morning I got up and ground the corn. My mother-in-law did not have any grown daughter, only those sons, and she was glad someone had come to do the work. She and I laughed and talked in the house. Only I was afraid of my husband. I had never talked to a man at all and I did not know what to say. Maybe I never would have talked to him; I do not know. Only one night when we went to bed, there was a rattlesnake in our bed. I screamed. He said: "Get up and we'll shake our bedding." After that I felt more at home.

My husband had three brothers. Two of them were big boys, almost ready to be married. One was called Thundering Wings and the other we always called by a nickname, One on Top of Another. That was because once he went to Mexico and bought two shawls. He did not know how to carry them on the horse, so he tied them both around his shoulders, one on top of another.

Those two brothers were going to be medicine men, only we did not know it yet. Medicine men do not tell their power until they have really
[60] begun to cure and these boys were just dreaming. They used to tease me because I was their first sister-in-law and the only girl in the house. I said: "Go and get some wives. I want company."

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

x 159 584 We married Two Bits when he was seventeen. Some people came to us and said: "We have a daughter. She was married to a man, but that man went away to the White school, and when he came back he did not take her." "She is older than your son," they said, "but she is industrious. She may be some help to him." We said: "It is true she is older, but we have seen her work. She may be a help."

x 159 585 So we told our son and he said nothing. Her mother brought us that girl, and ever since she has stayed with us and behaved herself like a woman. Some wives are like this; when their husbands are away, they run out to visit. She never does. She is always home working. Many children she and my son had, so that I have grandchildren and great-grandchildren. They live still in that flat place at Standing Rock, and when I go there, they have cactus seed for me to eat.

x 159 574 787 I went there last year before the husband of my granddaughter died. That man was sick and I could do nothing for him. I sat in their house making baskets, and a little blackbird came and drank out of the water I use to wet the fibres. I told one of my grandchildren to chase the bird away, and it went into the corner of the room. That night the bird came to me. It said: "Why did you chase me from your water? Don't you know I will need it?" I knew that man would die. So that day he did. The next night he came again, with black feathers and a cow tail. "See," he said, "how pitiful I look." I knew the devil took him.

x 159 756 My second son was a medicine man. Ah, that one would have been great! When he was small, he acted strange; his heart was feeling something coming. He would run out in the night, and his father would run after him and find him lying face down in the greasewood. Maybe something had come after him and taken him away.

Once, when a rattlesnake bit me, he cured me. I was picking beans among the weeds in our garden and, along with a handful of beans, I grabbed the snake. I had hold of him near the head but he turned his head back and bit my wrist. My son killed the snake. Then he chewed [757] some greasewood leaves and put them on the little hole where it had bit me. He made a mark with a buzzard's feather all around my wrist and told the poison not to go beyond that mark. Then he split the feather and tied the two pieces into a string. He bound that string around my wrist, tight, and the poison never went beyond it. Two nights it hurt me and my hand swelled, but not beyond where my son had made the mark.

He used to bring birds home to the house and keep them; he could speak with birds. Once he kept a hawk in our house and killed jackrabbits for it. Once I saw him coming home in the evening after he had been after the

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

horses, and there was something shining on his shoulder. It was the eyes of an owl. "What will you do with it?" I said. So he let it fly away. But I think he spoke with it after that, behind the mountain. /159x 756

He had crystals growing in him, and I know he had dreams but he had not told them yet. People only tell their dreams when they begin to cure. /159x 756 585

When he was seventeen he went to the drinking ceremony, and he met one of those wild women who run about without husbands and sleep in the arroyos. He put her on his horse and brought her home to Standing Rock. That was a bad thing. I did not like that, but we said nothing. Then she wanted money to buy things. She did not want him to stay and plant our corn with Two Bits. They went to the white man's town of Many Cottonwoods and had two children there. But that woman killed him. [836]

She was a woman who would not wait and do things at the right time. She lay with my son in the house when she should have been at the Little House. That kills the power of a medicine man. It rots his crystals and after a while it kills him, too. So he came back to stay with my daughter and left that woman. She would not come back with him, out of the town.

I went there to my poor son and took him to a medicine man, but that one said: "His crystals are all dead and dried. They build combs like bees and those combs are empty and blue. His power is dead." So he died. "My mother," he said to me, "I will come to you like an owl. You will know me." And it is true. The other day I was passing by a giant cactus, and there sat an owl in the fork and called to me. It does not happen often. I would like to hear my son call again. [775]

That wild woman who was his wife took another husband the next year at the drinking ceremony. The man's name was Jackrabbit Chief and he was an old man, but it was dark and she did not know it. She got on his horse with him and she said: "Where do you live?" "At the place of the Dead Dog," he said. The sun was coming up just then and she saw his face: "Oh, that's too far." She jumped off the horse and we have never seen her again. /159x 585

My daughter never lived with us very much. She lived with my mother and my brother, so when it came for her to marry, it was my brother who offered her. There was a man named Crooked Lightning whose sister was married to my brother. Crooked Lightning was as old as my brother. He was a singer and a good man. He had a wife who scolded him but he did not scold her. Only one day he went away from her and came to my brother, and said he needed another wife. So my brother gave him my daughter, Crescenza. She is a big fat woman now, a good woman. /159x 584 586

It has been a long time since my children were married. My old husband /159x 593 888

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

teasing, but it is usually good-natured, and in time she may adopt the new way of speech. 582 591

There is no elaborate wedding ceremony among the Papago. The old practice of the groom spending four nights with his bride in her home before taking her to their permanent dwelling has fallen out of use. Nowadays, under increasing white pressure, some couples in the eastern districts are married in a Roman Catholic or Presbyterian church, but in the western part of the Reservation such ceremonies are rare. Most marriages in the West and some in the East involve no ceremony and require only public recognition of an understanding between the individuals concerned and their families. The recently approved tribal code of laws (see chap. vii) requires a marriage license, a ceremony performed by a religious or other duly constituted official, and a certificate of marriage. 585

There are many sex relations outside marriage, which may evoke gossip or criticism but do not cause the social ostracism of either party. Children of casual relationships are to be seen in many homes. If the mother is unmarried, she cares for such children in her own household; when she marries, she may take them with her to the new home or leave them behind to be cared for by her parents. No stigma is attached to these children, and criticism of their parents comes from the clergy and the more ardent church members. 836 848

Residence of newly married couples is usually patrilocal. They may live in the same house with the groom's parents—in which case they often have a room of their own—or they may build a new home close by. If the groom's family is large and no more workers are needed to make a living for the group, the couple may break away, fence in a new field, and establish their own household. Although the new dwelling is usually close to the houses of the groom's father and brothers and everyone works together when necessary, the son's household is distinct from his father's and is more nearly like that of the average white family. Nowadays the trend is toward greater independence of young families. They frequently go for long or short periods to places where there is employment, but the husband's father's house is always home. 591

This is the prevailing pattern, but in the characteristically flexible Papago society the new couple may live with the wife's parents for some practical reason. Possibly there are more adults in the groom's household than in the bride's, and the help of the new couple is more valuable in her home. Perhaps the girl has no brothers to help with the crops or the cattle, or her brothers have left the Reservation. Whatever the reason for a man's joining his wife's family he assumes the responsibilities and status of a son, and the functioning of the household is not upset.

it is the short distance to a neighboring house cluster, and then she is always in full sight of her relatives all the way. Even in twos or threes girls are forbidden to walk about the desert or to loiter where men are working. 562

In the old days marriages were arranged by families, and young people had little voice in the selection of partners. The concept of romantic love has been introduced by white schools, movies, and magazines, and today there is much more freedom of choice. But, as a rule, Papago girls and boys are still circumspect in public. Though adolescents do not play together at school, they have more opportunities there for talking together and flirting than at home. Eleven- and twelve-year-old boys tease the girls, trip them up, or take their books. Older lads are more likely to start a disturbance to gain the attention and admiration of some particular girl; they are seldom disappointed. On the other hand, some of the girls quite openly seek to attract masculine attention by slight misbehavior in the classroom, and they often linger on the playground to watch the boys' ball games, a delicate attention which is not unappreciated. 584 883 [177]

At fiestas a boy will dance oftener with the girl of his choice than with the other girls. Sometimes they escape into the darkness away from the dance ground for lovemaking. 883 836 527

How much sexual promiscuity takes place is difficult to determine, for the Papago are conscious that their standards differ from those of whites, and they do not talk freely on the subject. Sex affairs that are intended to result in marriage do not seem merely promiscuous to the Papago, and many "Indian-custom" marriages begin in just this way, often in the cotton fields, where chaperonage is difficult to maintain. For sex relations that are not a prelude to marriage, boys are seldom censured, but girls are blamed for "going off in the bushes." However, the girl seems to be less severely criticized if she gives birth to an illegitimate child; neither the child nor its mother suffers social stigma, and the situation seems not to affect the girl's chances for marriage. 836 [848]

The boy who wishes to pay formal court to a girl will find excuses to visit her home, ostensibly to see a male member of the family. Everyone knows why he is there and takes great, though courteously veiled, interest in the progress of the courtship. The girl can discourage her suitor by disappearing on the pretext of having a task to do elsewhere. If she likes the boy, she will remain in the room while he is in the house; eventually he will find a way to propose, and they will announce to their parents that they intend to marry. They begin living together at once or soon afterward—usually in the household of the groom—and, whether or not a wedding ceremony is performed, are thenceforth regarded as man and wife. They have taken their places in the world of adults. 584 585

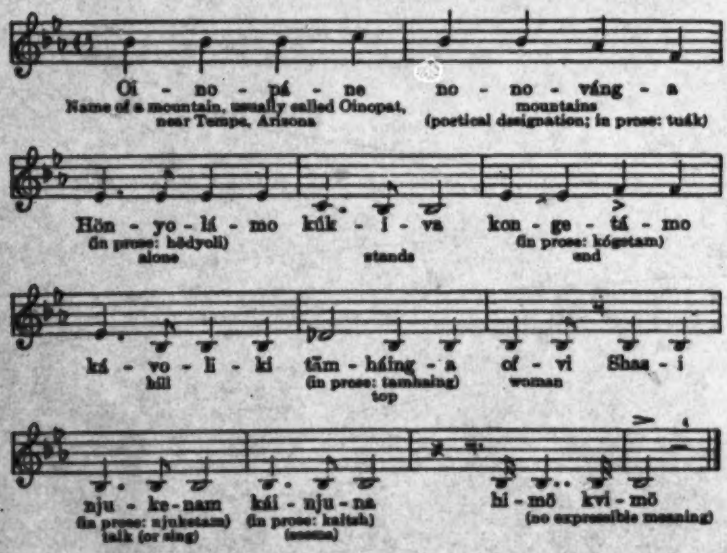
7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

self to the girl's house and stays there four nights. Her 584
mother then takes her to the bridegroom's home and
leaves her there. No services of the medicine-man are 585
necessary; if they mutually agree to live as husband and

PIMA SONG

USED WHEN THE YOUNG GIRLS COME OF AGE

[533]



This song may still be heard among the Papago, *e. g.*, at Ánekam rancheria in Santa Rosa valley, but it originated from the Pima.

wife, they remain in the house of the young man's father 591
until the latter's death. The son may make a house for
himself near by, but he helps his father in his work. If
the girl does not like the boy, she may walk back to her 586
parents. Conferences between the fathers will then ensue
to try to adjust matters and, until recently, sometimes the